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REVIEWS AND NEW BOOKS

General Works, Theory and Its History

Instincts in Industry. A Study of Working-Class Psychology. By ORDWAY TEAD. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1918. Pp. xv, 221. \$1.40.)

Creative Impulse in Industry. By HELEN MAROT. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1918. Pp. xxii, 143. \$1.50.)

It is necessary to keep in mind, in reading his book on *Instincts in Industry*, that Mr. Tead expressly disclaims precise classification of instincts. Nor does he assume that "the promptings of instinct offer a safe guide to conduct" (p. 6). He keeps in mind the need of experiment in trying out and testing the suggestions which he and others make as to the real importance of specified instincts (*e.g.*, p. 56). What he intends to do is simply to show by "a varied collection of facts, incidents, and anecdotes, that human conduct tends to become not only more intelligible but more amenable to control as we view it in the light of an understanding of the instinctive mainsprings of action" (p. ix).

These cautions are to be observed, because as Mr. Tead goes along in his discussion, it is seen that his starting point is the Freudian doctrine of explosion of the sex instinct when it has been suppressed, but he enlarges it into the explosion of other suppressed instincts. Furthermore, we know that from the time of Fourier anarchistic and socialistic doctrines have been based on the expected harmony that will follow the liberation of suppressed passions. Tead gives great weight to these doctrines of suppression and explosion, and indeed seems at times to overlook the equally important doctrines of necessary repression and control. It would be well if he would follow up this work by similar anecdotes and illustrations of the useful part played by the capitalist system in the line of discipline, management, control, and fulfillment of duty, promises, and agreements, even though by way of coercion. Something of this kind is needed to offset the chimerical conclusions likely to be drawn by those who see in that system only suppression and explosion and not the equally important discipline, obligation, credit, and good faith without which modern industry collapses altogether. I realize that what he is after is to suggest experiments towards obtaining a just balance between these two qualities of the capitalist system, but having left the latter half of the system undeveloped, the conclusions that might

be drawn seem to support schemes that experiments have already shown to be fatuous.

This, I take it, is the defect of Miss Marot's book. She starts with one of the so-called instincts, the instinct of workmanship. Then she has a plan for liberating it. Her plan is to start a kind of productive coöperation controlled by workmen, wherein they will be partners in the management, and thus will take part in the planning and so get vent for their instinct of workmanship. Robert Owen experimented with that plan a long time ago, and there were several Fourieristic experiments, and the history of coöperation is strewn with the wrecks of labor's participation in management. The capitalist system has evolved and survived out of experiments and in spite of continuous protests and opposition. And, I take it, one reason is that it is a system of repression of natural instincts, a system of discipline, regimentation, submission to foremen, superintendents, executives, over whom the employees have little or no control. Quite dependent on this is the fact that it is a system based on credit and the payment of debts, a system which could not be maintained if the workers had the power to pay to themselves the total product of their labor in present wages—a power which they always are inclined, even forced, to exercise by reason of their immediate necessities—instead of paying for upkeep and extensions out of present product. It is the business of management to sustain the credit system by restraining the instincts of labor.

Nevertheless, if capital and management overlook the suppression and explosion that Tead describes, the system will probably break down, and there are evidences that it is breaking down for this reason. Employers are losing their power of discipline, and the live question is, how are they going to retain enough of it to maintain the system. It is here that Tead's book ought to be of great value to capitalists, to engineers, scientific managers, executives and those who are inclined to sit on the lid. If they read it with due appreciation that it is an effort of one who has first-hand knowledge to help them arrange their thoughts and to try out experiments along really scientific lines, it will do them and the nation good in the doubtful times ahead. Tead definitely avoids conclusions that "pure instinct is ever in the saddle" (p. 9) and his definition of instinct as a born-disposition that is both variable and adaptive, permits him, through reference to imitation and habit, to combine the instincts in whatever arrangement seems

called for by his illustrations. The main object is to explain the activities and attitudes of manual workers without bringing in their reason or intellect. This is a considerable step in advance of the "calculating hedonism" of the classical and Austro-American economists, and if followed out in economic theory, it evidently shifts the crux of the subject from an abstract, subjective pleasure-pain psychology over to that point where psychology meets both jurisprudence and economics. Each is a theory of behavior-psychology, a theory of will-in-action; jurisprudence, of liberty and power to act; and economics, of action under conditions of limited opportunities to act.

It is this that gives significance to Tead's chapter on the "instinct of possession." For he finds that this instinct is not the hoarding instinct of squirrels and bees (p. 84) but the far more complex "sense of property right in jobs" (p. 70). In fact, taking his book as a whole, this is his central idea, clouded, however, by his concessions to the behavioristic psychologists who insist on pigeon-holing behavior according to the merely animal instincts. He recognizes that this cannot be done (pp. xii, xiii) and that all of the instincts are but expressions of the "instinct of self-preservation"—the "imperious will to live" (p. 18). This, in so far as it connects up with modern industry, is the "sense of property right in jobs," for the right to a job is not "physical or real property" (p. 67). It is a claim to a recognized position in that highly complex system of modern behavior, partaking of psychology, law, and economics, which we call "business."

When we analyze his various instincts, which are strictly instincts as found *in industry*, they focus around this sense of property right in jobs. Take his "instinct of workmanship." He describes it as "a delight in creation, or at least in activity to which some use is imputed." This "contriving impulse seems normally to manifest itself in conjunction with the possessive instinct." It may be, he says, that "the thwarting of the sense of proprietorship explains why the workmanly tendencies are not more active," etc. (p. 44). Likewise his "instinct of self-assertion." "In the money-economy under which we live . . . a situation has been created in which people desire to possess, not to satisfy so much the possessive as the self-assertive impulse" (p. 85). Also the "instinct of self-submission." "Many people seem to derive a downright pleasure from being bossed" (p. 113). Yet if this instinct is born of "fear" rather than "admiration" (p. 114) it is liable to end in

an explosion on the job (p. 129). Again, the "sex instinct," "the classic truth that woman's beauty arouses the interest and attention of man, is capitalized in business in all sorts of ways" (p. 36). The "parental instinct"—"those who marry and have children, or those who intend to marry, are declaring in one way or another an imperious determination to provide decently for their own" (p. 33). "Pugnacity is provoked by assertion of claims to jobs." Lastly, the "instinct of curiosity." It seems to be "the function of thought" (p. 200), "the human being's native desire to be intellectual master of his fate." It underlies ambition, promotion in jobs, class consciousness, wage consciousness and similar collective claims to jobs.

Centering, as these instincts do, in his mind, around the perfect instinct, or the undifferentiated instinct of self-preservation, I believe Tead's practical conclusions would come with more weight if the whole arrangement of his book had been centered around that instinct. As it is, we have unorganized anecdotes and illustrations, leading up to rather commonplace conclusions, such as, "human nature is knowable, subject to law, controllable, and needs a considerable measure of democracy and self direction" (p. 220).

Apart from the coöperative experiment which she proposes, Miss Marot's book is a notable product of the recent unrest in industry, education, and organized labor. Her "creative impulse" is not exactly an instinct but a result of education, and both industry and our school system suppress it. She surveys education from the standpoint of John Dewey, industry from the standpoint of Robert Wolf, and organized labor from the standpoint of control of the shop. "The creative process is the educative process, or, as Professor Dewey states it, the educative process is the process of growth" (p. xxi). "It is beginning to be understood," says Wolf, "that when we deny to vast numbers of individuals the opportunity to do creative work, we are violating a great universal law" (p. 39).

The labor movement heretofore has been a business movement (p. 10). The object has been financial, that is, getting wealth by "capture," not by work (p. 14). In so far as possible, both capital and organized labor have "exploited wealth" rather than produced it (p. 63). Miss Marot finds traces of a new motive. "The syndicalism of France has expressed the workers' interest in production as the labor movements of other countries have laid stress exclusively on its economic value to them" (p. 10). Next, the

"shop stewards'" movement of England "is essentially an effort of the men in the workshops to assume responsibility in industrial reconstruction after the war, a responsibility which they have heretofore under all circumstances delegated to representatives not connected directly with the work in the shops" (p. 62).

It is in the revolt of organized labor against their trade-union leaders, the revolt of socialists against the "bureaucratic schemes of state socialism, the revolt against the "autocratic method of business management," all of them signifying effort of workers in the shop to get control of the shop, that Miss Marot finds the urge of the creative impulse in the workers themselves. It is not merely an effort, as has been supposed, to get more wages or get control of the jobs; it is an effort, or at least the unwitting first push of an effort, to get back to the spirit of craftsmanship and workmanship. In order that workers may have an interest in their work they must have responsibility in its planning. "For this reason we need to develop the opportunity as well as the desire for responsibility among the common people" (p. 67).

Miss Marot has furnished many persuasive facts and arguments to sustain her proposition. She has, moreover, worked out a scheme for its practical application. But the scheme impresses me far more as a suggestive plan to be taken up and experimented on by employment managers and labor departments in factories than as a plan to be launched independently. Business, of course, has to be made financially successful, and that requires salesmanship as well as the creative impulse of the workers. The labor revolt that she emphasizes is compelling capitalists to pay attention to this very defect in industry and to separate labor management from engineering, salesmanship and finance. Welfare schemes have been their first approach, then scientific management. These fall short of meeting the workers half way, and Miss Marot's book sets forth the next line of experiments which, it seems certain, they must make not only in industry and education but also in the organization of labor.

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L'Economie Politique et les Economistes. By GUSTAVE SCHELLE. Encyclopédie Scientifique, published under the direction of Dr. TOULOUSE. (Paris: Doin et Fils. 1917. Pp. xviii, 396. 6 fr.)

The author endeavors to present in outline a sketch of the na-